/267 cont./

Y 535 back and forth in this way for hours. They held bow and arrow in their hands and were led by a masked figure which, in the semidarkness, looked like a man dressed as a woman at a carnival. Y [292] The clothing was feminine, the abrupt movements masculine. This costume consisted of a cotton cap with red, yellow, and green feather trimming all around and a long white cloak of loosely knotted cotton cord that terminated at the bottom with a wreath of black mutum feathers pointing downward. -- Castro said that he had interpreted the explanation of an Yuruna to mean that this festival dance preserves the memory of former times when a great chief was received with much pomp in the villages that he visited. That chief is represented by the man in the cloak and the feather crown. /The remainder of Ch. 16 and Ch. 17, pp. 267-281, are omitted in the translation./

/282/ Eighteenth Chapter

Legends of the Bakaïrí

B 293 [115] The name that plays the chief role in the story of jolly Captain Caetano Mêmo, which unfortunately was told in such miserably broken Portuguese, is that of the "Imperador." If B [299] the missionaries had the intention of causing the greatest possible confusion of concepts in the heads of the Bakaïrí whom they were to convert, they achieved their purpose to such an extent that one can only with effort separate a little clarity and B 539 concreteness from the general confusion. Let us imagine: Imperador the sun-god of the Indians. He bears two other names. Keri and Schischi. His brother is called Kame and also Nuna. Schischi, however, is the sun, Nuna the moon. Keri and Kame are merely two other names for the two celestial bodies, which are found among many "Guck tribes" (cf. chart of the Nu /untranslated/) interestingly enough in reverse, Keri belonging to the moon, Kamu to the sun.

/282 cont./

539 Keri and Kame are the sons of "Utoto," the bright jaguar (onça pintada) and Atanumagalé. Utoto's father is unknown; his mother's name is Mero, whose parents are again unknown. Of Atanumagale's procreators only the father's name has been handed down: Kamuschini. "Kamuschini" also seems to contain "Kamu" and is reminiscent of tamoussi, the old one of the heavens in Galibi. He, also older than Mero (the mother of his son-in-law), is the oldest of all, is, says Caetano: Adam!

Besides the realm of light in which the sky, sun, moon, and the spotted jaguar appear, there are representatives of darkness. Here there appears as the oldest Semino, the bat, and his wife, Evaki, about whose parents nothing can be discovered. Evaki, Caetano informs us, is Eva! One sees that the pious fathers have not let any advantage escape them. But the best is yet to come; the son of the bat and of Evaki /283/ is Tumeng: this word perhaps originally means dark, black -- it is formed exactly like the color adjectives (cf. Bakairi words 251-256 /in the appendix, which is omitted in the translation/). Only Caetano does not use the name Tumeng in his story, but rather calls the ruler of darkness -- truly a worthy counterpart to the Imperador -- the Rey de Congo, the King of the Congo. What could be more natural! The Whites call the emperor of Brazil their ruler; the Blacks, the king of the Congo.

In the beginning everything was dark night; only where Guroto, the red vulture, flew did it become light, and it became dark again when he flew away. His brother, the white vulture, was also called Guroto, but where he dwelt it remained dark. The red vulture owned the sun; the Imperador acquired it from him. The latter used a ruse in order to reach his goal. From "aka," a wood as soft as mandioca, he made the tapir, and made "pemera," small flies. Through the flies the tapir acquired a bad odor, which was supposed to attract the red vulture. cunningly the Imperador hid himself in a front foot of the tapir. The red vulture came along and seized the tapir, but at the moment when he was going to tear his heart out, the

/283 cont./

539 hidden Imperador seized him by the throat and threatened to kill him if he did not give him the sun. The sun stood in the house of the red vulture in the sky and the white vulture had to fetch it. The Imperador handed it to the old aunt Evaki for safe-keeping. The sky, the house, moves, the sun does not; it stands in an "oven" in a big "pot" which is covered with a lid. Evaki covers it at night and opens it in the morning, after the house, the sky, has moved back during the night.

Evaki also gave sleep to human beings and animals. Before that only the lizard slept. Evaki drew the sleep out of its eyes and distributed it to all.

About the origin of the moon and stars, Caetano has nothing to report, just as he is also silent about Kame, Keri's brother.

Keri, the Imperador, created human beings from plants. He blessed (rezou) the "uvá," the arrow reed, and the Bakairí and Cajibí came into being. He created the Coroá from "tacoara" (bamboo), the Negroes from "penacholo," a black wood, the ancestors of the Portuguese from "pirecenõ," a tree of the campo cerrado /see "Campo" in the glossary, p.170 /. The Imperador made the forest, the grass, the horse, the cattle; he blessed the termites and they became -- prettily enough -- the stones.

Ochobi, a large snake, made the water. It is not known where Ochobi came from. Who made the ground? "Não sei mêmo, I myself do not know that," replied the friendly old man.

/284/ The firm Bakairí lived on the Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga. Our friends like to tell about the waterfall that the Paranatinga forms about six days' journey downstream; most of them were born there, nature is full of wonders there. They regard even the turbulent salto, with which their knowledge of the stream presumably ends, as a unique spectacle. In the midst of it stands a stone house, a house such as they have here, habitable, but with roof and walls of stone. Nearby urubús fly about in the air; they watch the natural fish trap which is to be found there, a large stone slab on which the fish traveling upstream

4² [i.e. grassland with dense, low, stunted tree growth --Ankhist]

/284 cont./

539 and whirled upward out of the water remain lying helpless and die.

Ochobi, Caetano relates, made a large basin in the source mountains of the Paranatinga, filled it with water, and let the latter run toward the noonday sun. This became the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga of the Brazilians. Farther toward the rising sun there flows parallel to it another river, which would perhaps be the Schingú which we sought. The Imperador, accompanied by Baisáïf, and a white man went for a walk, the former along the Paranatinga, the other along the other river whose name is not known. The white man suddenly no longer answered when the Imperador called to him. A great fish, a jaú, had devoured him. Then Keri sent a duck which made the jaú spit out the

192

Hieroglyphics on the Paranatinga.

539 white man again unharmed. He then wandered along the river farther and farther until he came to the great "poço" (spring, here perhaps lagoon, the sea is meant), where he embarked and later returned with the gun. -- Tumeng made the stone house on the xako, so that the Imperador would live there, and also made the fish trap, so that the countless uruhú would find something to eat.

The distinction, clearly present, between a light /285/ and a dark sphere of gods forms the nucleus of these legends, insofar as it grew out of pre-Christian ideas. Furthermore, the gigantic animal figures, which are closely connected with the beginning

/285 cont./

539 of creation and in point of time precede the anthropomorphic gods, the creators of mankind, are a characteristic trait that is very widespread throughout the Indian myth.

1972 Near the waterfall, on the shore, there is an old inscription; I am reproducing it just as it was copied by the Italian Luiz Oddi, who traveled down the Paranatinga to the salto a few years ago in the hope of finding the gold site of the Martyrios. Oddi thinks that the signs were scratched in with a knife and stem from the Paulistas, whose traces he endeavored to follow. Caetano, however, although he is unable to state anything definite, believes that the picture writing was made by Indian hands and is ancient. The presence of the "cross figure" does not prove anything opposing this view; it probably represents a human being and corresponds almost exactly to one of the drawings given in

000 Wallace's book about Amazonas. /Chapters 19-24, pp. 286-329 in the original source, are omitted in the translation, except for the map facing p. 298, which appears in the translation as pp. 154 -159, and the illustrations facing pp. 322 and 326, which follow as pp. 160-164 and pp. 165 - 169, respectively. The "Appendix," pp. 330-366 in the original source, is omitted in the translation./

/62 cont./

533 with one foot. I tried to get the words and read them back to
[126] him, singing lustily in his fashion. Unfortunately I do not understand the text, and unfortunately the notes even less. I can only say that the rhythm was very pronounced and that, when only the old man sang, one thought one was hearing a whole company as they ran and stamped in a circle.

539 kuyé kuyé kutapayó kuyé -- kutapayó hohóhohohú
533 yaliwayáhahú ohohú uhó -- ohóhóho huhohohú ohóhóchú.
énu hitenó kuyé -- kutápayó yekútapá yekútapá ohó.
This verse contains something about eyes, a similar one with kámi hitenó etc., about the sun (*).

*kámę, sun, Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. The following yawalí is the name for the throwing stick and the throwing-stick dance of the Tupí tribes of the Kulisehu. The words are probably only partly Bakairí.

/63/ yáwalí, yáwalí i í íí pekóto, yawalí íi íi éh hé hé yawalílawí.
yáwalí pinakú yawalí eh he hé, yawalí henemánekabó yawalí eh he hé, yawálí he he hé.
yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé-yá.

Like the yawali song there was another with endless repetition: wákutuyéh, wákutuyéh five times, wakú wákutuyéh etc. ad infinitum. Then Paleko also knew a song of the Nahuquá that referred to the beautiful sex, tíu, woman: yámikú hezé hezémitíu -- yámikú erehezé mezé mitíu.

533 In spite of the rousing marching songs, no boiling and gurgling appeared in our bean pot; only modest bubbles of foam floated on top, and after two hours the slightly heated legumes were still raw. Not until my intended came along and took charge of the matter did the tempo of the beans become livelier. She, too, sang "kuyáuhu kuyáuhú (diphthong au) with a soft voice
[539] a little like the melody. "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus" /"We built a stately house, "a German student-song (translator's [See The discussion of the Throwing Stick on P 234ff. Author]

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyšuhu kuyšuhuhũ -- kiruhayẽ kiruhayẽ (four times) --
539 kuyšuhu kuyšu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawĩ yawĩ nakũ -- novĩ rinõ habẽ -- ohõ hohũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notĩ arĩte nõhuhũ, ohõhuhõ hahũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notĩ arĩte õhohu, ohõhuhõ, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward, the õhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the most solemn: nõ tũ hã -- notĩ arĩte nõhuhũ nuhũ hahũ -- notĩ arĩte nõhuhũ nuhũ hahũ nõ tũ hã, nõ tũ hã -- õho hũ hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I
[123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "nadiralhalã," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
289 be seen from Plate 5, $\frac{5}{8}$ wore the "ukẽri," a yellowish brown piece
[301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of uniku, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

* See p 28 -- Analysis

/220 cont./

The influence on the animal kingdom was strange and remarkable. All beasts of prey very deliberately made use of the occurrence, sought and found their victims, not so much near the blazing fire as on the smoking burned place where many a rodent was probably charred. Numerous falcons hovered over the dark clouds of the "queimada"; wild game hastened to it from far away, to lick the salty ash, and preferred the night, perhaps because it could not hide on the bare expanse. The ground radiated an agreeable warmth.

224 559 Hunting by means of fire is found among many primitive peoples. The Schingú Indians no longer seemed to practice it, but in any case it was well known to the Bakairí. /221/ and the legend of "Kame in the Mouse" tells us that Keri went hunting with the possessor of fire, the campo fox, and the latter caught "only a burned mouse," inside of which was Keri's brother Kame.

Keri met the campo fox. "Let's make fire in the campo, grandpapa," said Keri. They set out to make fire. It burned all around. Kame was in a mouse. Keri did not know that he had gone inside. The fire burned down and stopped. Keri hunted, did not see a mouse. The campo fox found a burned mouse. After he saw it, he ate it. He met Keri. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I ate only a mouse."

392 The "queimada," or burned place, furnished many experiences about the usefulness of fire: fleeing animals when the fire began, later charred animals and fruits, animals that came to it, salty ashes, warmth. Here the hunter could learn how to roast meat, which, on a smaller scale, took on the significance for him that flour preparation has for the field cultivators. Roasting preserves. After many days roasted meat, which otherwise would long since have become putrid, is still tasty. The Bacairí went out hunting for weeks and returned with a rich supply of roasted game; the Aweté were absent for several days on fishing expeditions and brought home a canoe heavily laden with roasted fish; among the Mehinakú we saw baskets filled with very appetizing, golden yellow baked fish. Even today roasting is continued until the meat has a thick charcoal crust -- the burned skin -- with a very popular salty taste.

/297 cont./

B 527 According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kámayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 103), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the costume and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the morciehu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/300 cont./

★ 191 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time,
527 though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only
535 half dead. Carnival on the Kuliseu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten
[462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous
[262] job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound,
[292] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakairí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakairí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakairí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanari, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black paká and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakairí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakairí makanki zéto," the Bakairí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and
[532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakairí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small
[533] bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

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● 539 *One man sings: ohuhasha-ihá yumáa ohí.... yumarí uvaxuká, yumari uvaxuká huyaná vitá ôô.... yohohohó. Then another: mauá kúa

/300 cont./

535 539 káuayú, mauškauayú hohohú. aluš...aluhš, aluš miyevené yanšvitš hö...ohohohú. thöhö... hohú, he..hirámiturí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohú. Now all in circular motion. ohú namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhó. ayarívénení kayarílö ohó namiturí ohú namituhurú ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú huyócho. makavó makavó yuušvitirá inšvitšhanš, iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around: aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarikú hohuhoo, eveschírini mahúraní hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even aluš itself is not a Bakaïrí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakaïrí words.

535 The imeo makanari is common to all Bakaïrí. On the Kulisehu imódo, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a [825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle. imodo, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish, Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/346 cont./

#191 755 774 775 559 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a cobra snake or a sukurí snake or a falcon. He ascended to heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the Tamitotoala (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that one....., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Kristo had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogé and pikí juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Kristo provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the hole by which one gets out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

#191 755 296 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcosis.* Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

/361 cont./

912 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
913 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

913 I have already discussed in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (ferhm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatús, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with pikí fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatú, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatú worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of atobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatú already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twim) that stars are thought of as holes; what is

2: Steinen--430 E, D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP7

/362 cont./

539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

993 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

361 555 512 Transformation. A large part of the Bakaïrí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, or the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

/372 cont./

793 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west. all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed to have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakairi decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

800 The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the xalto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, urbes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Mandioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

198 113 539 I have published the originaltexts of the Bakairi /Bacairi/ legends, with interlinear translation, in the Bakairi-Grammatik.

/372 cont./

128 Here I shall try to relate their content, which, to be understood,
• 539 requires the essential supplements furnished by Antonio. They themselves consist of very short sentences and have an extremely terse form of expression.

539 The parents of Keri and Kame. The first part of the legend takes place in heaven. Almost everything that is now on earth existed at that time. Nothing is reported about an actual creation; it is only told how the heroes Keri and Kame acquire all kinds of good and important things from others. There were always Bakaïrí present, though "at the beginning /373/ only a few." There were also people of other tribal affiliations, especially the various jaguars and their relatives, who killed and devoured many Bakaïrí. For example, Kamuschini, with whom the story begins, was also "of another people."

Kamuschini, when he was looking for leaves of the tucum palm in the forest in order to provide himself with cord for bowstrings, met the jaguar Oka, was afraid of him, and promised to make women for him if he would spare him. First he felled trees with red wood (newíti), took the blocks home, set them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and withdrew for a while. When he returned, however, they had all turned into men who were carving arrows. He killed them, went out again and with a stone axe felled five or six other trees, proceeded with them as with the first, and, after he had left the ones blown upon to themselves for a while, found that this time they had become women. They all said "Papa" to him and, with the exception of the last ones who sat there lazily and whom he therefore angrily killed at once,* they were busily pounding maize -- "it is said that there

* For five of them I was given the names Nimagakanáto, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawagíri. In Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 226, I erroneously said that Kamuschini felled five pikí trees, and besides that I was guilty of accusing Kamuschini of an error. He first felled two pikí trees, from which came

[114]

2: Steinen--446 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/973 cont./

• 539

Nimagakaniro and Ichoge. Ichoge contains ipó, pihí (= ití-ge, with pihí). Tawagiri, too, is the name of a tree, from which the two lazy women were made, the Portuguese olho de boi, oxeye. Koyaka (= koyá-he, with koyá?) came from a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. Antonio did not know anything more specific about Atacumagale's tree-origin. She and Koyaka likewise became the wives and mothers of jaguars, although this (K. 36) is put down as uncertain. Atacumagale was later designated as the wife of Kuára, the son of Mero.

was not yet any mandioca at that time" -- and were making beijús and drinks. Kamuschiti gave the two oldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, and he led them home. On the way, however, Ichoge came to grief: she climbed up a buriti palm to fetch herself some nuts and fell down.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakaïrí finger-bones, of which there were many in the house because Oka needed them for his arrow points and killed many Bakaïrí, whose flesh he ate. The woman became pregnant from the finger bones, and from these only, not from Oka. Now, however, her fate was approaching in the shape of her mother-in-law, Mero, whose husband is unknown and who, besides Oka (the large onça pintada, the spotted jaguar), had two more jaguar sons, Kuára (the "canguçú" variety of the Brazilian) and Zaupányua (a "red-colored" species). Mero came for a visit while Oka was hunting. "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakaïrí," for she hated and devoured the Bakaïrí. She tore Nimagakaniro's eyes out with her claws and departed. Nimagakaniro died, but the uncle, Kuára -- a jaguar who in heaven performs a Caesarean section on a dead woman! -- cut open her belly, took out the twins Keri and Kame, and put them in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his people cut Nimagakaniro into bits, roasted and ate her, and served

[525]

/373 cont./

539 the rest to the /374/ returning Oka, who unwittingly ate it. Furiously angry when he learned what had happened, he ran to kill Mero, but desisted because she said: "I am your mother." The jaguar foster-father reared Keri and Kame: he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. Now, however, they asked him about their mother: he had been silent about her death because he was ashamed of having eaten her flesh and now, too, gave no information. The grandmother, however, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the family of the Bakaïrí and is named here for the first time, reported Mero's crime. Keri and Kame went out and killed Meqo, although she received them with the friendly greeting, "oh my grandsons."

"Mero <u>safada</u>, the cursed Mero" (Antonio hated her from the bottom of his heart) "was not buried, oh no, she was burned." Keri and Kame gathered faggots and lighted a fire, then they dug a hole in order to watch. Mero burned <u>hopopopo</u>....One can see the fire to this day in the large Magellanic Cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame inquisitively crawled out of his hole and caught fire. He burned up, died. Keri blew upon him and made him nose and hands and feet, such as human beings have. But Keri, too, caught fire (the small Magellanic Cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned up, died, was blown to life by Kame and given human shape. Then came three kinds of animals, which can also be seen in the sky, the small fish otter who took her tail from Keri and Kame, the large one (<u>ariranha</u>) who took hands and feet from them, and the toucan who took his beak from them. Keri had had a larger beak than Kame.

Only now do the two have a human appearance, and they soon start their activity for the benefit of those living today. How did Kamuschéri, Mero, and Oka look? "Oka is the spotted jaguar, isn't he?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, at that time the jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakaïrí and devoured them." Mero had "something of the <u>joão</u>" (<u>Crypturus noctivagus</u>) "and <u>makuku</u>" (<u>Tinamus brasiliensis</u>), two wood hens.

§25

/374 cont./

539 But their claws were as large as thumbs. "So the mother of the jaguars was a bird?" "Yes, it is said that to this day the jaguar does not devour any johõ and makuku." This is again a true Indian reason for the senseless relationship between the jaguar kin-group and the wood-hen kin-group. If there is anything historical here it has been inseparably mixed with the zoological. "Mero devoured so many Bakaïrí that scarcely any remained. Keri had to make new ones."

The person of Kamuschini, finally, is also linked with an animal observation and, although we learn to understand his sojourn in heaven, makes even greater demands on our power of imagination. He has "a black tin, is moderately haired, he makes threads like a spider." "The spiders come each year in July and then have children; in August and /375/ September, when the rain comes, they make threads and then they go to heaven and the thread trails after them. Kamuschini is like these spiders."

Keri and Kame, on the other hand, have human shape by this time. They now take revenge on their foster-father for the death of their mother. But they shrink from it and want to have the deed performed by others. They ask the jaguar to make them arrows; they place them upright in a circle in the ground and blow upon them. "There came" the Kayabí /Cayabi/, the neighbors of the Paranatinga Bakaïrí, who in former times were supposed to have lived peaceably with them but who became their mortal enemies because of the more axes and women. The arrows which the jaguar made for Keri and Kame and in addition to which the latter conjured up the Kayabí were stalks of buriti leaves, for at that time Keri and Kame were still children and used toy arrows. Keri told the Kayabí to shoot at Oka, but they missed. Then Keri himself shot, the arrow penetrated the knee of the jaguar, "the jaguar leaped into the water and escaped." The legend simply says: "thereupon they killed their father," but Antonio gave this different version and added: "If the jaguar had been killed, there wouldn't be any today."

/375 cont./

539 Suñ. Keri and Kame were now instructed by their aunt, Ewaki, to fetch the sun, which was owned by the red urubu or king vulture. Everything that has been told so far took place at night, unless the king vulture happened to appear with the sun. In the zenith there is a black hole that belongs to the urubu. The tapir which one sees in the Milky Way fell into this hole because it was a dark night. Keri saw the tapir and went into his front foot.* Kame, however, entered a small yellow songbird,

*Old Caetano said that Keri made the tapir out of ika, a soft wood like mandioca, and then made small flies which were to give the tapir a disagreeable odor and attract the urubu.

similar to the bemtevi, and sat down on a branch; he was supposed to inform Keri, who could not see anything, about everything that was going on. The red vulture uncovered the sun, it became light and thus the urubus caught sight of the tapir. The entire "urubutsada," black and white vultures -- only the red one stayed away -- pounced upon the tapir. They fetched liana ropes, pulled him out of the hole with all their might, and wanted to divide him up. Then Kame on his branch went "neng, neng, neng," Keri blew, and the vultures could not open the tapir with their beaks. They called the king vulture to help; he came, and Kame stopped going "neng, neng, neng." The red vulture opened the tapir with his beak, and at that moment Keri seized him, grasping him so firmly that he almost died. He was told that only if he gave up the sun could he remain alive. Then the king vulture sent his brother, the white vulture, to fetch the sun. He brought the dawn. "Is that right?" Kame asked Keri, who had to hang on. "No, not the dawn," replied Keri. So the white urubu brought the moon. "Is that right?" asked Kame. "Certainly not," replied Keri. Then /376/ the white urubu brought the sun, and when Kame asked, "Is that right?" Keri replied: "This time, yes." Then he released the red urubu, who was very angry.

2: Steinen--450E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/376 cont./

539 "At that time the moon consisted of japú feathers; the sun, the feathers of the toucan and the red arara; the dawn, toucan feathers. That is how the old ones knew it. If now, as you say, it is supposed to be different, I do not know anything about it, and nobody does. Then it must have been blown on so that it became like fire."

Keri thought and thought about what he ought to do with the sun and the moon. It was light all the time. Ewaki did not know how to advise him either. Finally he made a large pot and turned it over them. Then it was dark. He gave Kame the moon. Sun and moon were both under the pot. When the pot is lifted, it is day. -- Concerning the service rendered by the hummingbird and the snail, as well as the lizard and the armadillos, cf. p. 424.

Sleep and buriti hammock. Whether the need arose with the long-lasting brightness of the sun, which had not yet been put away, I do not know, but Keri and Kame very much wanted to sleep and, to their sorrow, were unable to. They went to Ewaki and the always well-informed aunt told them where they should go to fetch sleep. Po, the lizard, possessed sleep. She received Keri and Kame in a friendly way and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed in her house, lay down in the buriti hammock, and slept. When they awoke, they felt well again. The next morning they said farewell and set out with the hammock which the lizard had given them as a present.* On the way, after they had gone a league, they thought they would try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock and tried, but it was no good. They struggled in vain. Then they went back to the

* Another time it was said that before there was a hammock people slept standing up, leaning with their backs against the trees. Protection from snakes and insects on the ground is indeed one of the chief advantages of the hammock.

/376 cont./

●539 house of the lizard, seized her, and pulled out her eyelid. They took a large piece for themselves, and the lizard was very angry. Now they had eyelids and could sleep.

Heaven and earth interchanged. At that time it also came to pass that Keri left heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; no Bakaïrí were born here where we are now. Heaven had a ground on which everything looked the same as here on earth. Heaven and earth were very close to each other; one could go over to the earth." Keri said to heaven: "You shall not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good! But I don't want my people to die." Heaven replied: "I want to stay here." Whereupon Keri said: "Then I'll change." He with all his people went to the earth and heaven rose up high where it now is, and where to this day one can see that everything happened as the Bakaïrí tell it.

/377/ Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki and she ordered them to fetch fire. The campo fox was the lord of fire. He had it in his eyes and struck it out when he wanted to kindle wood.

[825] The campo fox (Canis vetulus "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ II, page 57) had set up a weir basket in order to catch fish. Keri and Kame went to the weir basket; in it they found a jejum fish and a caramujo snail. Keri went into the jejum (a smooth, span-long lagoon fish) and Kame went into the shell. "Both were well hidden in them." The campo fox came along singing and made a fire. Then he looked to see what was in the weir basket, fetched the fish and the snail, and laid them in the fire in order to roast them. But the two poured water in the fire. Angrily the campo fox seized the snail, but it jumped into the river and fetched more water and poured it into the fire until the latter was almost completely extinguished. The campo fox seized it again and wanted to beat it to pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail slipped away from him and fell on the other side. That was too much for the campo fox; he angrily ran away. Keri and Kame, however, blew up the fire and took it to Ewaki.

/377 cont./

539 Rivers. Ewaki sent the two boys out to fetch water. They wandered for three days. They found three pots which belonged to the ochobi water-snake. There was water in the pots; in two of them there was good water, but in the third there was foul water which one cannot drink without dying. They did not have anything to do with this third pot; they wanted to have good water. They smashed the other two pots; the water that ran out of one was the Paranatinga; the water of the other, the Ronuro and Kulisehu.* Keri took charge of the Paranatinga water;

* The text of the legend speaks only of the Ronuro; Antonio added: "along with it was the water of the Kulisehu."

Kame, the Ronuro-Kulisehu water. Both rivers ran on, and Keri and Kame each ran behind his; they called to each other so that they would not lose each other. Suddenly Kame's calls ceased. Keri shouted and shouted, but he got no answer. Then he had the Paranatinga stand still and wait, and he went to the Ronuro. Stupid Kame had picked out the worst river. He could not cope with it; the water swelled and grew wide, and Kame drowned. A huge jahũ fish swallowed him. Keri arrived and found the Ronuro standing still; Kame had disappeared. At once he started to fish; he caught three jahũs and one was greatly swollen. He tore open its belly and saw kame, who was dead. He laid the corpse on large, green leaves and blew upon it. Then Kame stood up and said: "I slept well." "No," cried Keri, "You did not sleep at all! A jahũ devoured you." They did not want to have anything more to do with the Ronuro; Keri sent for a duck and ordered it to take the water along. So the duck escorted the river farther and the two boys -- at this time, as Antonio pointed out by comparison, they were the age /378/ of the son of a German acquaintance of ours in Cuyabá, about eight years old -- set out for Keri's Paranatinga, which was still patiently waiting. "This is the water," said Keri, "that we want to take along."

2: Steinen--453 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP?

/378 cont./

• 539 For three days they ran with it down toward the valley. Then they came to the salto of the Paranatinga, but it was not yet a waterfall, only dry rock. They themselves now brought the water to the salto and let it wait on the other side of the falls. But since they were now staying here, Keri soon had ducks and doves come and other birds who took the water with them and led it on.

House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived on the salto. He was the husband of the grandmother or, as we have called her up to now, Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same merit as kinsfolk). Tumehi was a bat and had a dark gray skin. Old Caetano variously called him Semimo (Bak. semĩmo, bat) and Rei de Congo! The king of the Congo, a term which he got hold of, heaven knows how, from Negroes, fleeing slaves or workers on the fazendas, and applied to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kin-group of Kamuschini, Mero, and Ewaki, and his correct name is probably Semimo, for tumẽhi, tumeng, is an adjective. The salto had been his stone house before the water came; it should not be surprising to us that it is precisely the bat, which prefers to "keep house" in rock clefts, that is regarded as the builder of the stone charm and that the latter, with one or another overhanging rock-roof, is regarded as a house. Thus, Tumehi was pedreiro, stonecutter.

Keri and Kame had Tumehi build each of them a stone house. The latter provided himself with stones by blowing on termites; that is how stones were produced.

They learned more from Tumehi on the salto, however. Their knowledgeable grandfather showed them how to make and to set weirs and catch matrincham fish in them, how to plait roasting racks and roast fish.

Now Keri and Kame have reached the stage where they are regarded as adult human beings, they have acquired everything one needs: sun and moon, hammock and sleep, fire, the best river with the salto and its fish, house, and roasting rack. Their life had to start in heaven, and now it has been carried forward to the time when the actual tribal history begins at the oldest residence site of the Bakaïrí, on the salto of the Paranatinga.

[193] [361]

/378 cont./

539 The Bakaïrí lived with Keri. Keri's house lay on the east side of the salto. Both together also made a hill on the west side of the Paranatinga, from which one had a broad view.

Kame first built a festival hut and first carved a flute. He invited Keri and his people. They all danced to the sound of the flute, stamping and swinging their arms in rhythm, from the dwellings to the flute house and back again. Kame served his guests pogu to drink and /379/ beijús. In return they gave presents of arrows and cotton thread.

Keri then called his people together, too, for a dance festival; they danced and also drank pogu in the afternoon on the large open place which one can still see at the salto, then they plaited makanari and imiga costumes out of buriti, swung the rattles, blew the flutes. Now Keri could also invite Kame and his people. Many came; Keri was the master of the imeo dance, and people danced for two days and two nights in succession, resting only a little in the evening and refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But during the festival a quarrel broke out between the brothers about the people. Keri had made many Bakaïrí out of uhí reed, but Kame had made nothing. Keri accused him of laziness; they quarreled, and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He took refuge in the southwest, made a hill on the Rio Beijaflor (hummingbird), a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there also made tribes: Apiahí /Apiaca/, Paresí, and Guaná. It is very interesting that the Guaná are also mentioned
[101] here, a Paraguayan tribe split up into several divisions, of whose presence in this part of the country nothing was ever said; in very, very ancient times they also "lived on the Beijaflor."

Keri climbed up his hill on the Paranatinga and discovered smoke in the distance. He went to look for Kame and found many, many people. Angrily he accosted Kame: "Why did you make so many people?" Again they started quarreling, but Kame left the Paresí, with whom he was living, and accompanied Keri back to the salto. It was not long before another quarrel broke out because of the people. Keri had made new

/379 cont./

539 ones and Kame fled, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him, and again brought him back to the Paranatinga salto. It seems that this quarreling and roaming about are described in order to make it possible for each of the two to have made a number of tribes living far apart. Finally, Keri [101] made the Bakaïrí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, and Kame made the Apiakí, Paresí, Guaná, Maué, Suyá, Munduruká /Mundurucu/, "all the Arinos tribes." I have already discussed (cf. p. 436) how this grouping can be viewed essentially as an eastern one for Keri and a western one for Kame, and I mentioned that if there is a distinction here according to the sun = east and the moon = west, Keri is actually to be thought of as lord of the "eastern" tribes, despite his Aruak meaning = moon (cf. p. 439), for the Bakaïrí hero with the moon-name merely given to him by the Aruak /Arawak/ women was, of course, for the Bakaïrí the owner of the sun = east. All the tribes were made out of arrow-reed, the Portuguese out of a dark kind, the color of the gun stock. Keri had first given the gun to the Bakaïrí (naturally!). But they did not know how to handle it: one of them would shoot past another's ear. They were afraid of shooting, "just as we still have seen among the people on the Kulisehu." Then Keri gave the rifle to the Karaiben /Carib/.

/380/ Departure of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame again leave the salto, and Keri appoints Arimoto as chief of the Bakaïrí remaining there. Arimoto was also born at the salto. This chief, however, misused his position and killed many Bakaïrí. "But wasn't he a Bakaïrí himself?" I asked. "Probably, but he was a wretched scoundrel. If he had been good, his descendants would be chiefs of the Bakaïrí to this day." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kulisehu. The Bakaïrí followed him in their distress and complained about Arimoto. At once Keri and Kame went back and killed the faithless one, who defended himself violently and for his part tried to kill Keri.

/380 cont./

• 539 This brings us to the end of the activities of Keri and Kame insofar as the principal legend reports it. They left the Bakaïrí an abundance of matrinchams, climbed a hill, from which they called down once more to the Bakaïrí, who answered them animatedly, and "went forth on their way. No one knows where they went. The ancestors did not know where they went. Today one knows less than ever where they are."

Even though the legend ends in such a melancholy way, however, the people had their own ideas. Tumehi -- not to forget this old bat -- went away with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? Caetano, the grand old man, who knew how to adjust to the new conditions extremely well, said that Keri was the Imperador /emperor/ in Rio de Janeiro, Emperor Pedro Segundo. The good [124] Bakaïrí patiently answered all my innumerable questions because I had told them I needed to know everything in order to report it to the Imperador. That meant a great deal to them. I made the objection, "what if the Imperador in Rio de Janeiro dies?" "If the Imperador dies," ran the answer, the correctness of which, however, must unfortunately be refused, "then all the Bakaïrí will die also."

Chief Felipe told me something else. "Keri went to the Ronuro and Kulisehu with a hundred men. He traveled downstream to the sea. That is what the people on the Batovy say too!"

Antonio adhered to the text of the legend as he had learned it from his mother. But in another connection he said that Keri lives in heaven, his house is there where the sun rises. "Then is Keri 'God' (Deus), about whom the Portuguese have told you?" "No, that is another, about whom we know nothing. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakaïrí."

539 Tobacco and cotton. Besides the coherent legends, the con-
125 tents of which I have told thus far, other achievements of Keri were occasionally mentioned. For example, he took from the sawari the tobacco with which people are cured. Sawari did not want to give it up; he said it was very good tobacco. Keri, however, took the seed away and gave it to the Bakaïrí. If one makes

/380 cont./

539 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die. /381/
825 but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the common hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it. It climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakaïrí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

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* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Guiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 475. "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakaïrí, however, had obtained this from the karazóto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulisehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulisehu, "but not very well."

[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karazóto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

/381 cont./

• 539 125 The karaxto from whom the Bakaïrí obtained smoking tobacco lived in the "tobacco river." "He had received the tobacco, no one knows where, but he gave some to the Bakaïrí when they visited him in his house." It is probably obvious that the animals were used as geographical indications. Tribal names were "sound and smoke," the animals always remained comprehensible.

Mandioca; deer antlers. Keri obtained mandioca from the campo deer or Portuguese veado (Cervus simplicicornis). Before that, however, we must find out how the deer itself came to possess mandioca. It belonged to the bagadú fish (Pteractocephalus, cf. the illustration in Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 221 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 110/), also called pirarara, an oily fish which we often caught but did not relish particularly. The bagadú (kʒ.áto) lived in the "beijú river." "Perhaps," Antonio added of his own accord and thus for the first time put me on the track of the "geographical" animals, "it was a branch of the Kuiuro, for there are bagadú there, there are none in the Paranatinga." "The beijú river was in the east." How the deer obtained mandioca from the bagadú is told as follows.

/382/ The deer was thirsty and looked for water. Then it found the bagadú (in a side branch of the river where it had gone at high water and now, with low water, could no longer get out). The bagadú lay high and dry and gasped for air. Then it said to the deer: "Carry me! Plait a bast loop in order to carry me." After the deer had plaited one out of embira, it stowed the bagadú on its back and brought it to the slope of the beijú river. "Here I should like to rest," it said. (The deer was afraid to go down to the bottom of the river.) But the bagadú did not feel like it. Thus they talked and walked down the slope. At the bottom they leaped into the water. The deer enjoyed itself in the waves. So the bagadú took the deer along to its dwelling. When they arrived the deer drank pogu. It also ate beijú. (Both were refreshments as yet unknown to it.) The bagadú took the deer along to the mandioca planting. it ran along behind. When they saw the mandioca, they broke off branches and tied three together. Then

S: Smithsonian--439 E, D-5 (1894, 1897-1899) 1894 SPT Bacairi

/382 cont./

539
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they went home. "Tomorrow I shall go," said the deer and slept that night in the house of the bagadí. The next morning the bagadí said: "Take the mandioca branches along. Fell trees and then plant them." "If they are well planted, you will soon have mandioca," it declared. "Farewell!" said the bagadí to the deer. It climbed out of the water. "Now then, go!" "I am going back home," it said. But it put down the branches together in a heap on the bank; it could not manage alone and did not reach its dwelling until late in the evening. Soon it returned to the place with its son and the two carried the branches home. They rested for a while, then they cut wood in the campo. (A great folly in the eyes of the Bakaïrí, over which they laughed heartily.) But the mandioca does not flourish in the campo. They therefore then felled trees in the forest. They built a fire, burned the wood off, and planted.

Now the deer was master of the mandioca. Keri met it and wanted to have some. Up to that time Keri's beijú had consisted of the red earth found at the salto of the Paranatinga. But while the two were talking about it, they began to quarrel. The deer did not want to give up the mandioca. Then Keri grew angry, seized the deer by its neck, and blew; suddenly it had its antlers. But Keri laughed and called out, "That is how the master of the mandioca looks," took the mandioca along, and presented it to the women of the Bakaïrí and showed them, as he had learned from the deer, what they had to do so that they would not die of the poison. "But now the deer has its antlers, eats leaves, and gnaws the bark off the twigs."

The deer was thus the first, because it eats leaves and bark, to be credited with the ability to remove the poison from the mandioca. Antonio was firmly convinced that the deer was perfectly familiar with the treatment of mandioca and showed it to Keri. It was from Keri that the Bakaïrí women learned it.

/383/ The ugly ostrich. The South American ostrich or nandu (Rhea) of the zoologists is called ema in Brazil, and another bird, the seriema, sariema of the Brazilians, is regarded as its relative because it, too, hurries across the campo at a fast run, though the zoologists classify it as Dicholophus cristatus

2: Science--460 E,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1934 SP1 Bacaist SP7

/383 cont./

539 825 in order of the cranes, under the family name of snake-storks. Cf. the illustration in Brehm, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 686. Here there is also a quotation from Burmeister to the effect that the seriema "runs along faster than a horse can trot, and can be overtaken only at a gallop."

Keri ran a race with the seriema. The seriema stopped for a brief moment. Keri passed her and the seriema fell back. Then he challenged the ostrich. They ran and Keri fell back; the ostrich hurried on. Keri was very angry at the ostrich. He fetched himself leaves of the uakumá palm, he seized the ostrich and punished it. Then the ostrich lost its beautiful feathers, today it has nothing but small, ugly feathers.

Keri and the campo fox cut hunting. Keri met the "grandpapa" campo fox and agreed to hunt with him, during which the campo fox, as master of fire, would light the manega grass in a circle. Whatever animals were surrounded were to be burned. Now stupid Kame had just entered a mouse. "Keri did not know anything about it, he thought Kame was outside." The fire stopped, and the two roamed about to see whether they could find booty. Keri did not find a roast. The fox found a charred mouse and ate it up. Then the two met again. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I only ate a mouse." Then Keri realizes that the campo fox has swallowed his brother, and he thinks up a strange method of getting him back without having to kill and cut open the campo fox. "Let us race, Grandpapa," said Keri. "All right, my grandson." They raced a long distance. They stood still. When the fox stood still, he vomited. After he had vomited, he quickly ran away. Keri went to the spot where the fox had vomited. He saw the mouse bones and gathered them up. After he had gathered them up, he blew. After he had blown, Kame rose up. "I slept well," he said. "You didn't sleep at all! The campo fox ate you."

The jaguar and the ant bear. This strange story no longer has anything to do with Keri and Kame. Nevertheless it deals with the same contrast of the clever one and the stupid one. The stupid one is the strong jaguar, the clever one the large ant-bear,

2: Section--461 C, D-5 (1894, 1897-1899) 1934 SPT Bacairi 897

/363 cont./

539 825 tamanduá bandeira (striped) of the Brazilians and Myrmecophaga jubata of the zoologists, which is no match for the other in bodily strength and agility. The relationship of the two animals interests the Brazilian hunters very much. they maintain that the ant bear can cope very well with the jaguar, not out on the campo, to be sure, but in the forest, by standing upright like our bears and embracing the jaguar. At times this struggle is said to cost both of them their lives.

/364/ Our tale is also concerned, however, with the particular circumstance that the jaguar eats only wild game and the ant bear only ants, and it asserts it in a rather drastic manner, applying the schema of the wager to a very unusual case. Aside from this point, the animals act entirely like human beings: they light fire, roast meat, wander about with the back-basket, dance, the ant bear cuts its tonsure (the hair of its head is very short and bristly), in fact, the little ant-bear, Myrmecophaga tetradactyla, which appears at the end, poisons the jaguar with the magic poison of the medicine men that is contained in a calabash. The moral of this tale, which delightfully reflects the humor of the Indian, is that artifice and cunning triumph over physical strength, this most important experience of the hunting life. The jaguar is sometimes called by the general name of the species, utôto, sometimes by the name of the onça pintada, ôka, under which we became acquainted with him as Keri's and Kame's foster-father.

The ant bear met the jaguar. Then the ant bear said: "Let us cach, my friend, with eyes closed." They closed their eyes and cached. While the jaguar had his eyes closed, the ant bear laid Oka's heap under himself. The ant bear laid his own heap under the jaguar. When he had arranged them nicely, the ant bear said: "Let's open our eyes." "Let's look at our heaps," said the ant bear to the jaguar. The ant bear cried out: "I ate meat!" The ant bear said to the jaguar: "You ate termites!" "I don't eat termites!" the jaguar said to the ant bear.

2: Steinen--462 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 St7 Bacairi 897

/384 cont./

539
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The tapir came to where they had cached. When the jaguar saw the tapir, he demanded that the ant bear go and kill the tapir. (Now the ant bear had an opportunity to prove his boast that he eats meat.) As ordered, the ant bear followed the trail of the tapir. The ant bear killed -- a tree! Then the jaguar set out to kill the tapir. The jaguar actually killed the tapir. Meanwhile the ant bear, eating termites, had gone on and did not return until the tapir was dead. "Where did the tapir go, my friend?" the jaguar asked the ant bear. "I did not see him," said the ant bear to the jaguar. "Didn't you see him?" said the ant bear to the jaguar and went on: "I do not eat meat, I always eat termites. meat I do not eat." "I killed him," said the jaguar. The jaguar disemboweled the tapir and gave the excrement of the tapir to the ant bear (crude revenge, as though to say: "There you also have a meat-eater"). "Light a fire, my friend," said the jaguar. The ant bear lighted a fire. The jaguar set up the roasting rack and roasted the meat.

"I'm thirsty," said the ant bear. "There's no water here!" said the jaguar. "Yes there is," said the ant bear, "there are wild buriti palms over there." The ant bear left, he went far, but he did not find water. /385/ Then he pissed, drank his urine, and washed himself with it too. In his urine he found a little lambaré fish. (The storyteller makes things a bit easier for himself by providing the ant bear with evidence for his assertion.) He went back to the camping place, and when he arrived the jaguar asked: "Did you drink water, my friend?" "I drank," said the ant bear. "Look at the lambaré that I caught!" "I shall go to drink too. Is it far?" "It's a bit far," said the ant bear. The jaguar went to drink water. When the jaguar had already gone far, he called: "Where is the water, where?" "Farther! Farther!"

When the ant bear no longer heard the distant jaguar, he laid the tapir roast in a back-basket and climbed up a jatobá tree. The jaguar came back to the roasting rack; there was no longer any tapir roast. The jaguar followed the scent and saw the ant bear up in the jatobá. "Come, let's eat!" said the jaguar.

2: Steinen--463 E,D-5 (1894, 1897-1898) 1894 SP7 Bacairi 577

/385 cont./

539 125 to the ant bear. The ant bear ate the tapir and -- it was his turn to ridicule the other -- he tossed the tapir bones to the jaguar. The jaguar (who could not climb up the tall, slender trunk of the jatobá and was trying to think how he could get the ant bear down) called the biting ants. The biting ants climbed up the jatobá. But the ant bear blew. Then the biting ants went away again. Now the jaguar called the wind. The wind came to break the tree. He came to the ant bear and uprooted the jatobá. The jatobá crashed. The ant bear fled. To be sure, the jaguar pounced, but he caught only a termite nest sitting on the jatobá.

The jaguar set out and searched. At last he met the ant bear as it was eating termites. The ant bear had shaved himself a tonsure. "You there, my friend, you ate my roast." "Your roast?" said the ant bear, "I didn't eat your roast." "You are the very one who has just eaten up my roast," said the jaguar to the ant bear. "Someone that looks like me ate it. Matawiwe (a small member of the species) is the one who ate your roast," said the ant bear. "Did I look as though I'd eaten it?" asked the ant bear. "You want to deceive me. You shaved yourself a tonsure," said the jaguar.

(It is impossible to decide the case, so the ant bear proposes a competition, the one who wins is right. He felt very secure in this type of "dancing" and at first the jaguar did not feel like going into it.) Then the ant bear said: "Let's dance properly, my friend." "Let us leave dancing alone," said the jaguar. "But all right, let's just dance," said the jaguar. First the jaguar carried the ant bear. Then the ant bear carried the jaguar. Again the jaguar carried the ant bear. (He was able to carry the ant bear oftener than the latter would have given him credit for, and he was on the point of winning.) Then the ant bear tore out the jaguar's eyes and fled. The little pindoreiro bird saw the ant bear run away.

/386/ The agutí (Dasyprocta aguti, a pretty little rodent, "golden hare," very clever at tracing a scent) found the eyes and put them back in the jaguar. When his eyes had been set in,

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
525 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing.
The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along
with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized
him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go
and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again.
When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said. he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

/387/

Chapter XIV.

500

On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[364] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/Part cont./

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1 **Bakaéri, waráu, kuaraiwa acryebidáo**
Bakaeri Tapuia [illegible] when they quarreled

arinedili
they became.

2 **Kaiwimári iewiràpadili**
Our captain became angry

3 **Ayi amarémo tokedáo zohi**
Enough you /pl./ when he said people

ewánu iniyadili.
their illness made it.

4 **Iniyatáo idanára anayido áyá kuáiyeli**
When made it all animal with we died

5 **Ilapüriñe emedili wáyá yamadili.**
Then dawn above became dark.

6 **Xixi eyacého yamu inenauili.**
Sun his coming out dark closed-it.

7 **Inenawudáo iyawinu iniyadili.**
When closed it cold made it.

8 **Xixi eyacedáo yamadili.**
Sun when came out became dark.

9 **Yamatáo xirimúka eyacéli.**
When became dark star came out.

/228/

10 **Ayö** **yamu** **iyawimu** **iniyadili.**
Quite dark cold made it.

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11 **Aritüo** **udödo** **kherpanokeli.**
Then jaguar appeared.

12 **Péto** **ayö** **ayaetiño-modo** **iniyadili.**
Fire enough ancients made it.

13 **Tano** **ahitokili** **püreu** **ahitokili.**
Knife played arrow played.

14 **Täwi-ye** **iyedäri** **tunaneŋ**
Their hunger with those who did not die strong

niye-pa **tohimöhe.**
die not remain.

15 **Ilapüriñe** **iwerä-pa-itüo** **xixi** **eyaceli.**
Then today not being sun came out.

16 **Xixi** **kourotaä** **ayaetiño-modo** **amidundili.**
Sun midday ancients ate.

17 **Ilapüriñe** **ayi** **xikidüo** **péto** **öro**
Then much slept fire earth

odäkou **eyaceli.**
inside came out.

18 **Xixi** **péto-ára** **idili.**
Sun fire like became.

19 **Ce** **adapiku-ye** **iyeli.**
Tree heat with died.

20 **Páru çaveli.**
Water dried.

21 **Páru çavediáo kuána iyéli.**
Water when dried fish died.

22 **Kuána iyediáo cenena kuana**
Fish when dried urubu fish

çani.
ate-it.

23 **Páru çavediáo anayido iyéli páru**
water when dried animal died water

tinenediíi.
wanted to drink.

24 **Apa anáhi idanára iyéli.**
Manioca maize all died.

25 **Áritibiñe kuüiyeli.**
Then we died.

26 **Kuüiyediáo cenerá-la kuani.**
When we died urubu ate us.

27 **Áráyi kuapüráne be-ba awiliye.**
Someone buries us is not thus.

28 **Idanára anayido iyeli.**
All animals died.

29 **Aritibiñe ayi-pa kuitáo**
Then many not when we remained

192 /220/ **kuiwimiri parutába inepehemiíi.**
193 our captain sea blessed it (here).

• 537 30 **Aritsio parutába ayo-idíli, peto enaxekíli.**
Then sea rose. fire put it out

31 **Kuaraiwa idamú-do nibretudíli.**
Brazilian his grandfather dreamed-it.

32 **Mára minu iwiyá parutába iwéhe**
That moon over sea will swell

yamúra keli.
spirit said.

33 **Tomudó- ra kedso mijewadíli-la**
His people for when said you lie

inmudo keli.
his people said.

34 **Tumudo kedúo pi inanadíli.**
His people when said as picked it up.

35 **Pepi ima xiyace.**
Canoe large made it.

36 **Ata takoaheq pepi.**
House high canoe.

37 **Iliie tipiniri inadíli pepi odaí.**
Then his food takes it canoe inside.

38 **Iliie kuopáe timeri tiwúdi**
Then at night his child his wife

/231/ **áyâ anela oxedili.**
with alone sailed

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539 39 **Oxedibi-ñe parutaba çalokxúli.**
When he sailed sea rose

40 **Çalokxuli kxopae.**
Rose at night.

41 **Aritúo idanara anayido ayâ kxöiyêli.**
Then all animal with we died.

42 **Tõiwedúo çayuno iniyadili.**
When swelled sand made it.

43 **Iwerâ-pa mâra tapiku wâyâ çavelli.**
Today not that heat above came down.

44 **Çavedúo çayúno tuxũe**
When came down sand stone to

atuyudili
turned.

45 **Ilapũriñe õro acemakêli.**
Then the earth is exchanged.

46 **Kxái-na õro idâli.**
Sky to earth went.

45 /47/ **Idâdúo kxáu ayá-na xirimúca idâli.**
When went sky with star went.

48 **Pimiri ara tawõyeŋ atuyudili.**
Ant like flying thing became.

192 /232/49 **Tawöyen atuyudili kxonopio ara.**
193 Flying thing became little bird like.

• 539 50 **Idanâra anayido ara kxidatuyudili.**
All animals like we became.

51 **Ilapüriñe ayökxitúo tohi ewanu-ye**
Then when we grew our work with

kxidacenomedadili.
we learned.

52 **Idu-pe-ba ilapüriñe pohi ara**
Forest there was not then grass like

idu yahele.
forest grew.

53 **Mâra adapiku wâyâ apa**
That heat over mandioca

ewili ipüri-büri eyabeli
its fruit its old seed germinated

pohi anal.
grass (campo) middle of.

193 Before giving the translation of this text, let us take it as the theme to accompany a few grammatical explanations.

One fact strikes us at once: the sentences follow one another, each usually with only one verb, without interdependence or subordination. In other words: as far as syntax is concerned, Kxura-itano uses parataxis exclusively. /233/ The greatest complexity attained by the sentence is that of apposition, enumeration, or parallelism, which does not exceed the scope of parataxis.

/246/

193 Here is now a list of the personal pronouns, divided into the two classes of

	Agent Pronouns	Patient Pronouns
1	*u, ura, alic, kx (a)*	*ie, i, u*
2	*m (a). ama, malic*	*a, ai, e*
3	*a, c, i, a*	*ė, i, n, ç*
4	*kxi (d), kxidalic, kxura, kina, xina*	*kx.*

The reciprocal is *t, d, ç, h, x.*

193 539 There follows a free translation of the passage given above (8), for which a good knowledge of kxura-itano is needed

8. From ewâri, "arm," which is the same as çawõli, "wing," comes the verb apari (Bakairi Sprache, pp. 82 and 108), which means "to swim." ikiwáru means "the river is swimming"--rapids; kxudupi paru ohe yuwaru (B. Sp., p. 82), "the gourd is swimming in the river." It seems that aside from paru, which is very common, and tuna, retained only in tunata, the Bacaeris also have for "water" i or ik, which we find in the preposition ikale, "inside," which is applied only to water. According to Irineu, when they wish to ask whether an animal lives in the river or on land, they commonly use the phrase: adik, õro par-ikano menoro. If it is a land animal, the answer is: par-ikano keba menoro. (Cf. B. S., p. 31.)

/246 cont./

539 [193] in order to understand the interlinear translation. Its subject matter is the destruction of the world by fire and flood.

This is what happened to the Bacaeris, the Brazilians, the Tapuias /Tapuya/ after they quarreled. --Our captain became angry;--enough, he said, and made the people's illness, and with the other animals we all died. --Then at dawn it became dark;--the darkness stopped the sun from coming out, --when it stopped it, it caused the cold;--after sun came out, the darkness continued;--with the darkness the stars came out;--the darkness caused much cold.

/247/ Then the jaguars appeared; the ancients made much fire; the knives fought with the knives, the arrows fought with the arrows;--those who did not die of hunger, the strong ones, do not die anymore, they remain. --Then, after a time, the sun came out; the ancients ate at midday. --Then, having slept for many nights, fire came out from inside the earth;--the fire was like the sun; the trees died from the heat; the rivers dried up; -when they dried up, the fish died, --and the urubu ate the fish. --When the rivers dried up, the animals died of thirst;--mandioca, maize, they died out altogether. --Then we ourselves died, --and the urubu ate us because there was no one to bury us. --All the animals died. --After we had been reduced to a few, our captain blessed the sea;--then the sea rose and put out the fire.

The grandfathers of the Brazilians dreamed;--in the next moon the sea will swell, the spirits said to them. When he told this to his people: you are lying, his people said to him. --Then he took his ax, --made a large canoe, --tall as a house; he took his food inside the canoe; at night, alone with his wife and children, he embarked. --When he embarked, the sea rose, it rose at night. Then with all the animals we died.

When the sea rose it made the sand. --After a year it came down--and the sand turned into stone. Then the sky

/247 cont./
539 and the earth changed places; the earth went to the sky, the sky came to the earth with the stars.

Flying things arose in the form of ants;--then the flying things became little birds;--we all turned into animals.--Then, when we grew, we learned to work;--there was no forest;--then the forest arose as grass.--In the next year the mandioca fruits burst out in the middle of the campo.

/248/ Before closing, here are a few indications concerning the formation of the words.

193 The derivative adjective is often formed by adding t to the substantive, and the ending neŋ or ɾeŋ to indicate presence, and neni or neri or ɾeni to indicate absence; for example, isehike, "goods, baggage," tisehikeneŋ, "rich," tisehikeneri, "poor"; odo or ço̱do, "lord," todoneŋ, "belonging to another" (literally, "has owner"); ça̱wõri, "wing," tawõɾeŋ, "flying thing" (9).

9. The passage cited is not part of what has been published.

ɾe is also used to form adjectives, but its chief role is with verbs, to which it always lends the idea of destruction or dismantlement: thus, from itubi, "peeling," is made kxanituɾeli, "I peeled off"; acemakeɾa, "to run away" ("elude the grasp"); iɨuru, "foot," iɨuɾeli, "to fall."

The reflexive verbs are formed by adding to the radical the patient pronoun represented by h, for example, Kxahinaraki, "I remained" ("I left myself"), while xinoraki is active and means "I left him," ãhipanãkeli, "appeared (himself)," inepanãkeli, "caused to appear," or they are represented by x or ç, for example, axodili, "is found," iniodili, "finds him," or by d or t, adãile, "comes to an end," inãili, "puts an end to it."

The idea of repetition is obtained by introducing nono between the verbal radical and the temporal index: eɾatuhe, "I tell," eɾatunono-he, "I again tell."

/252 cont./
795 not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days,
[533] put mingáu in two small gourds; put the mingáu on the middle
of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song;
when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they
• [539] flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying;
Kɨzukɨzukú (come, take heart!). When stopping, there is a
blessing, saying: Aúfá! Go inside the sky, to our people, to
our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the
sky it is good, go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, --
the ɒiahi teaches.

/253/ Another passage has kɨzadopa in the form of a tatou (Mugaru, Dasypus) in the middle of an abandoned village /tapéra/ and advises that no one should walk where a fight took ɒlace.

For a while bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the piahi contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, livers that sit in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the star Toɨzoreŋ. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with his trap; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blown upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go see Nakoeri.

19 Nakoéri is a word whose etymology cannot be explained
194 by means of kɨzura-itano; fortunately, the language of the
795 Acawoyos /Acawai/, Indians of British Guiana, Caribas like the Bacaeris, offers us a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (11)

11. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

/253 cont./

19 by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads
174 the famous sentence, the spirit of God moved over the waters
775 (Genesis, 1, 2): Makonàima "Yakwarri" otoupou tona poropohru, in which "Yakwarri" means "spirit." "Nakoeri" and "Yakwarri" are identical words, semantically and even phonetically, since the n in the former, like the y in the latter, are /254/ possessive indices of the third person; the double r in the English transcription must represent the same sound as the single r in our writing (12) and the transformation of a into o, o into w,

12. Any statement is risky concerning the English R. "The consonant R," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language. Dr. Ellis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its protean intricacies" /cited in English/ (An introduction to Phonetics, 56, London, 1891.)

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We can thus translate Nakoeri in the same manner as Yakwarri, as "spirit."

19 The Akawoio /Acawai/ permits us to take another step
174 forward. Fiat lux in Akawoio is: Akwa weijima. Would not akwa, "light," be the radical of Nakoeri and Yakwarri, and would not these names signify originally "the shining one"? The answer is reserved for the grammarians; the continuation of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be concluded from the Bacaeri traditions.

● 539 The Bacaeri himself will explain better what he knows about Nakoeri.

/254 cont./

539 When there were no people here on earth, long ago, Nakoeri was born, when there was no sun, no moon, etc.; only Urubu existed, only Jaguar existed in the old days; then Nakoeri at first made only the Tamandua, the Jaguar and the Pig, he made the animals because he was the Lord of prayer (urenvi);--then he made the clay for the grandfather of the Bacaeris; -Nakoeri made the clay (orina) like people; when he finished doing this, he put it at the foot of a tree.--In those days, long ago, Nakoeri did not have a house. When he finished putting it at the foot of a tree, Nakoeri blessed it,--when he blessed it the grandfather of the Bacaeris was born,--small as the animals was born the grandfather /255/ of the Bacaeris; when they grew, the ancients ate dry wood and rotten wood; without arrows and without clubs the grandfathers of the Bacaeris were born;--when they increased, the grandfathers of the Bacaeris appeared each with his own people; men alone, women alone, etc., went the Bacaeris;--when they grew, when he made the animals, Nakoeri made a cotton ladder,--of spun cotton Nakoeri made it;--under the ember star totorey and at the door of Nakoeri;--when he made his ladder, Nakoeri went to the sky;--this is why the souls of the Bacaeris go to their captain Nakoeri;--when he reached the sky, Nakoeri made his house;--after he made his house, Nakoeri made a lake; cold is Nakoeri's lake; in the sky Nakoeri does not die;--at dawn Nakoeri goes to bathe in his waters; when Nakoeri goes, he undresses;--at dawn Nakoeri becomes a boy;--in the afternoon Nakoeri becomes an old man;--not on that day alone (i.e., every day) Nakoeri undresses;--Nakoeri's lake does not dry up, there are very many (a/i kuru) souls of the Bacaeris in Nakoeri's village;--there are hornets, there are urubus, there are large sparrow-hawks, there are white sparrow-hawks.

Wara bakaéri una ine atuli, concluded I.; "this is how the Bacaeri tells this story." Let us leave it, however, for it will be more to the point farther on.

/255 cont./

539 775 In the sky the shadow, which had already been changed previously into a Kixadopa or Caprimulgus, reaches its final evalution by transubstantiating into the Yamũra. For an explanation of this word, we need not go beyond the Bacaeri: Yamũra plainly comes from Yamu, "dark," and signifies the dark, gloomy principle.

It is natural to inquire whether the icekiko, that is, the belongings, the "baggage" as I. translated it, which are put with the dead man, /256/ undergo a transformation similar to that of the owner. The texts do not answer categorically, but lead one to understand that this is the case, because the yamũra own canoes, baskets, clubs, which are, however, in no way similar to those used on earth: they are animals. The reader may judge this according to the following passage.

539 825 Anta is the basket of Yamũra; Anta goes about on the back of Yamũra, --Yamũra goes to eat mandioca, to eat squash, to eat gourds, to eat beans; it is not the Anta that eats;--in the basket Yamũra gathers squash, gathers beans, gathers gourds, etc.; when he gathers Yamũra carries away.

Also the Queixada /white-lipped peccary/--the Queixada comes to the clearing to eat mandioca--the Queixada also comes on the back of Yamũra--it roots up mandioca, it roots up cará /Dioscorea/, it roots up batata, --when it roots up, Yamũra carries it away, the Queixada;--this is why Queixada is not to be found--Queixada does not appear because Yamũra hid it.

Also the Anta, etc.; at midday the Anta sleeps, it walks at night, etc.

Caitetú /collared peccary/ is also basket of Yamũra. Caitetú only goes in threes; it digs up tree roots, it digs up mandioca roots, it digs up cará roots, it digs up batata roots.

In his resting place, Yamũra makes mingáu, grates mandioca, cooks cará, cooks batata, bakes beijú.

/256 cont./

539 325 Tracajá /a species of turtle/ is the gourd of Yamũra;--inside the Tracajá he mixes and seasons his drink, he drinks his drink;--Tracajá is the maracá /gourd rattle/ of Yamũra, etc. Jahú /Paulicea lutkeni/ is the canoe of Yamũra--inside of Jahú he grates mandioca, extracts the polvilho /fine manioc flour/, prepares manipueira /milky juice of grated manioc/, etc.; this is why, when Jahú is caught, one pays--one pays with mingáu, one pays with pirão. Yamũra comes to drink mingáu in the house, --this is why one puts mingáu on the path, puts pirão, etc.

/257/ Also the Jacaré /cayman/: Jacaré is the grater of Yamũra--it grates mandioca, it grates cará, it grates batata, etc.

Also the Sucuri /water boa/ is the net with which Yamũra fishes--Yamũra catches deer /veado/, catches paca, catches cotia /agouti/, etc.; this is why, when Sucuri is killed, there is thunder, there is rain, etc.

The pintado fish is the club of Yamũra;--the Ray is the baking grill of Yamũra; on the top of the ray, Yamũra bakes his beijú, bakes his fermented mandioca, bakes his polvilho, toasts mudubim.

A naturalist might note in connection with this passage that the Cotia (Dasyprocta aguti) "spends most of the day hidden in a hollow trunk or in a hole underneath the roots and at nightfall goes out looking for food"; that the Paca (Coelogenys paca) "leads primarily a nocturnal existence, sleeping during the day in a hole which it digs itself, preferably underneath the roots of a tree, and comes out at nightfall"; that the Marsh Deer /Veado galheiro, "big-horned deer"/, at least, "in late afternoon, after sunset, during the night, and at dawn comes out in search of food"; that Queixada and Caitetú (Dycotyles) come out "now during the day, now at night, in search of food, digging the ground for roots"; that the Anta "in inhabited regions leads primarily a nocturnal life;

/257 cont./

539 825 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamũras.

539 174 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamũras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [229] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [412] appear at their festivals. [532]

539 776 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the Yamũra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 789 824 302 Yamũra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamũra goes into the houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;-- fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamũra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/273 cont./

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The captains of the trees spoke first, the piahi relates; the yellow trumpetbush, the red trumpetbush, the jatobá, the copaiba, the pau de morcego spoke, the piahi relates--aúfá! let us all go, let us ripen our leaves, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; yes, let us do it, Captain, said his people, the piahi relates; when they said this, the leaves of the trees all ripened, the piahi relates; when the leaves were completely ripe, they spoke again, the piahi relates; aúfá! let us drop our leaves, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; when the captain spoke, they all responded, the piahi relates; when they spoke again, all the leaves of the trees fell, the piahi relates; when they had all fallen, their captains spoke, the piahi relates; aúfá! let us flower, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush and the copaiba, the piahi relates; when the copaiba and the trumpetbush spoke, their people responded, all of us, yes, we shall do so, Captain, his people said, the piahi relates; when they said this, all the trees flowered, the piahi relates; when they all flowered the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; now let us all drop our flowers, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we shall do so, Captain, said their people, the /274/ piahi relates; when they said this, all the flowers of the trees fell, the piahi relates; let us go, let us bear fruit, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the red trumpetbush, the piahi relates; when they spoke, they sprouted branches, they bore fruits, the piahi relates; the rubber tree, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush, the paratudo, the tarumarana da mata bore seeds, the piahi relates; when their seeds burst, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; let us go, now let us burst our seeds, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we are doing so, Captain, said their people, the piahi relates; when they said this, at the time of drinking, they drank, the piahi relates; when they spoke, all the seeds of the trees burst, the piahi relates; when

/274 cont./

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539 the seeds burst, they spoke once more, the piahi relates; let us all go, now let us grow! said their captains, the piahi relates.

This was not the only occasion when the trees spoke, says the piahi: (Mâra-ume nelõ-ba cé arexeli, tokehe piahi).

/264 cont./

794 survives death. (o) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person suddenly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to return to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamũra which occurred in the domains of Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

[513] [776] 775 796 793

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

776 775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

796 The kadopa and iamũra suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals. 775 When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

775 789 •539 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /míngáu/ in two small clay cups /cúias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

/265 cont./

When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamũra. But the iamũra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamũra portrayed by these animals. (9)

9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamũra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor. Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamíra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

993 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] [194] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

796 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt- (224) ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with (226) which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future (241) calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities (396) and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by (782) propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw (262) materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

G.Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SPI Bacairi 5.P.9
[P.99-B]

773 171 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *cumiuru* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamoschini, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschini went into the forest in search of torum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*arauto*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately *—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschini gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuiára

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* I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Ahamumagale, Ichoge, Kuyuka, and Tsengueri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 288, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschini killed five pequi trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains the pequi fruit - *ge*, with pequi. Tsengueri also is the name of a tree, of which the two hard ones were made, in Portuguese it is called "olho de Boi" (bull's eye). Kuyuka (kuyk-ka, with kuyk?) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Ahamumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Kuyuka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Ahamumagale is designated as the wife of Kuiára, Mero's son.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP 7
[P. 98-A]

539 and Zuapáryua. One day Mero visited her daughter-in-law while Oka was out hunting: "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakairi woman," because she hated and ate them. With her claws she tore out Nimagakanro's eyes and went away. Nimagakanro died, but uncle Kuáry—a jaguar, who in heaven practices the "Caesarian operation" on a dead woman—opened her womb and took out the twins Keri and Kame whom he put in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his men cut Nimagakanro into pieces, roasted and ate her. When Oka came home, they offered him the leftovers which he ate unsuspectingly. After he heard what had happened, Oka became very angry and ran to kill Mero but desisted when she said "I am your mother." A jaguar foster father raised Keri and Kame; he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. One day they asked him about their mother; he had not told them about her death because he was ashamed to have eaten of her flesh, and even then he did not tell them. However, their grandmother, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the Bakairi race, and who is mentioned here for the first time, told the two about Mero's crime. Keri and Kame went and killed Mero although she received them kindly, greeting them, "Oh, my grandsons."

"Damned Mero (Antonio hated her with all his heart) was not buried, oh, no, she was burned." Keri and Kame made a stake, lighted it, then they dug a hole from where they could watch. Mero burned *hepepepo* . . . The fire can still be seen today in the big Magalhães cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame was curious and crawled out of his hole and caught on fire. He burned and died. Keri blew on him and made him a nose and hands and feet as men have. But Keri too caught on fire (the small Magalhães cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned and died. Kame blew on him making life return to him and gave him a human form. Then there came three animals which can still be seen in the sky, the small otter which took Keri and Kame's tails, the big otter (arirunha) who took their hands and feet, and the toucan took their beaks. Keri's beak was bigger than Kame's.

Now the two appeared in human form and began, shortly, their activities in benefit of the living. But then what did Kamuschiní, Mero and Oka look like? "Oka is the spotted jaguar?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, then the Jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakairi and ate them." Mero had some resemblance to the jacú (*Crypturus noctivagus*) and the maruco (*Tinamus brasiliensis*), two gallinaceous birds. But her claws were as big as thumbs. "Then the mother of the jaguars was a bird?" "Yes, they say that even today the jaguars will not eat jacú nor maruco." This again is a typical Indian reason for an absurd relationship between the jaguar and the wild forest hens. Should there be a historical reason it is inseparably amalgamated with the zoological one. "Mero ate so many Bakairi, that hardly any were left. Keri had to make new ones."

Kamuschiní is also connected with animal life and although we can conceive his story in heaven we need an even greater imagination to understand it. He "is black,

● 579 has sparse hair, and makes threads like a spider." "Spiders come every year in July and breed; in August and September, when the rains come, they make threads and go up to heaven leaving the thread hanging down behind them."

Keri and Kame now have human forms. Now also they avenge the death of their mother on their foster father. But they do not dare do it and want others to do it for them. They ask the jaguar to make arrows for them. The two brothers put these upright in the ground in a circle and blow on them. "Thus came" the Kayabí, neighbors of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who, so we are told, lived in peace with one another in former times but became deadly enemies because of stone axes and women. The arrows, which the jaguar made for Keri and Kame and to which by magic, they added the Kayabí; were stems of burity leaves, for at that time Keri and Kame were still children and used children's arrows. Keri told the Kayabí to shoot Oka but they missed him. In view of this, Keri resolved to shoot him; the arrow went into the jaguar's knee, "the jaguar jumped into the water and escaped." The myth then says simply that "then they killed their father," but Antonio added "if the jaguar had been killed there would not be any today."

The Sun. Then, Ewaki, the aunt of Keri and Kame, ordered them to get the sun, who was kept by the red urubú or urubú-rei (vulture.) Everything that was told up to now took place during the night before the urubú-rei came. In the zenith there was a red hole which belonged to the urubús. Because it was a dark night, the tapir, which can be seen in the Milky Way, fell into the hole. Keri saw the tapir and went in as his paw.* Kame, however, went in as a small yellow singing bird, which resembles the bemtevi, and sat on a branch from where he would be able to inform Keri, who could not see, of all that happened. The red urubú opened the sun, it became light and the urubús discovered the tapir. All the urubús, black ones and white ones—only the red one still stayed at a distance—attacked the tapir. They brought cipó cords, with which, after much work, they pulled him out of the hole. Then they wanted to cut him up. At that moment, Kame, who saw everything from his branch, sang "nem, nem, nem". Keri blew and the urubús could not open the tapir with their beaks. They asked the urubú-rei to help them. When he came near Kame stopped saying "nem, nem, nem". The urubú-rei opened the tapir with his beak but at that moment Keri attacked him and held him so firmly that he nearly killed him. Keri told him he would let him live if he would give up the sun. Then the urubú-rei sent his brother, the white urubú, to bring the sun. The white urubú returned, bringing the red of the sunset. "Is this right," Kame asked Keri who had to hold the urubú-rei. "No, it was not the red of the sunset that I asked for," replied Keri. Then the white urubú brought the moon. "Is this right?" asked Kame. "Of course not!" replied Keri. Then the white urubú brought the sun and when Kame asked

* Old Caetano told me that Keri made the tapir of ôka, a wood as soft a manioc, and then he made small flies which caused the tapir to smell bad so that the urubú would be attracted.

G:Oberg E-S (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P.79-A]

539 again "Is this right?" Keri responded "Now it is." Then Keri let go the red urubú who was furious.

At that time the moon was made of japú feathers, the sun of toucan and red arara feathers and the red of the sunset of toucan feathers. This was what the ancient ones were taught. If it is different now, as you say, I know nothing about it, nor does anyone else. Then someone had to blow in order to make the sun turn to fire.

Keri thought for a long time about what he should do with the sun and the moon. It was always day. Ewaki, also, could not tell him what to do. At last he made a big pot and put it over them. Then it was dark. Keri gave the moon to Kame. When he took away the pot it was day. . . .

Sleep and Buriti Hammocks. I do not know if the necessity to sleep manifested itself with the long continuation of clear irradiation by the sun when it was still uncovered, but in any case Keri and Kame wanted badly to sleep, but they did not know how. Discontented, they went to find Ewaki, their always well-informed aunt, who told them where they could find sleep. Po, the lizard, owned sleep. He received Keri and Kame kindly and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed at his house and lay in a hammock of buriti and slept. When they awoke, they felt better. The next morning they said goodby and went away taking the hammock which the lizard had given them.[a] On the road, after they had walked a league, they wanted to try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock but were not able to sleep. They tried and tried in vain. They returned then to the lizard's house, they caught him and pulled out his eyelids, of which they took a very large piece. The lizard became very angry but Keri and Kame now had eyelids and were able to sleep.

Exchange of Heaven and Earth. It was also at that time that Keri left the heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; here, where we are now, the Bakairí were not born. The heaven has a floor, the same as the earth. Heaven and earth are very close to one another; from there one can cross over to here." Keri said to heaven, "You should not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good. But I do not want my people to die." Heaven responded, "I want to stay here." Keri said then, "Then I move." He went with all the people to the earth and the heaven went there where it is now, and where today one is able to see that everything happened as the Bakairí say.

Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki who sent them to go and get fire. The fox owned the fire. He had it in his eyes where it gave a leap when he wanted to light a fire. The fox (*Canis cerdus* "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm *Säugetiere II* S. 57) had put out a bow-net to catch fish. Keri and Kame went there and found in the bow-net a "jejum" fish and a snail. Keri entered the "jejum" (a smooth lake fish about 4 inches long) and Kame entered the shell. "Each was well hidden in his animal." The fox came, singing, and made a fire. Then he went to see

[a] Another time I was told that before there were hammocks, people slept standing up, leaning against trees. Protection against snakes and malignant insects is really one of the greatest advantages of the hammock.

[38 A25]

539 what was in the net and took the fish and the shell putting them on the fire to roast. But the two brothers poured water on the fire. Furious, the fox picked up the snail, but it jumped into the river and brought more water, poured it on the fire almost extinguishing it. The fox caught him again and wanted to cut him into pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail escaped to the other side. With this, the fox lost patience, and went away very angry. Keri and Kame blew on the almost extinct fire and took it to Ewaki.

Rivers. Ewaki sent the two boys to get some water. They wandered about for 3 days. There they found three pots which belonged to Ochobi, a watersnake. There was water in the pots; two of them contained good water, but the third, bad water, which one could not drink without dying. They did not touch this third pot, because they only wanted good water. They broke the other two pots, the water which flowed from one was the Paranatinga, and of the other, the Ronuro and Kuliseu.* Keri took care of the Paranatinga, and Kame of the Ronuro. Both rivers continued to flow and Keri and Kame ran each after his river; they each called to the other, so that they would not get lost. Suddenly Kame's voice could no longer be heard. Keri shouted and shouted, but no answer came. Then he made the Paranatinga stand still and wait, and went to the Ronuro. Silly Kame had chosen the worse river, and could not master it, the water had spread and grown and Kame was drowned. An enormous jahú fish swallowed him. Keri came and found the Ronuro standing still, Kame having disappeared. At once he began to fish, he caught three jahús, one of which was swollen. He opened his belly and saw Kame, who was dead. He laid the corpse on big green leaves and blew on it. Kame got up and said "I slept very well." "No" exclaimed Keri, "You certainly did not sleep. A jahú devoured you." They were bored with the Ronuro and so Keri called a duck and told her to lead the water on. Thus the duck conducted the river farther on and the two boys—who, then, were about 8 years old, as Antonio ascertained, comparing them with the son of a German whom we had met in Cuiabá—returned to the Paranatinga, which was patiently waiting. Keri said, "This is the water which we shall take along."

For three days they walked on with the river toward the valley. Then they came to the fall of the Paranatinga, which was not yet a waterfall but only a dry rock. They took the water up to the falls and then let it wait on the other side. As they wanted to stay where they were, Keri called ducks and pigeons and other birds, which took the water forward.

House, Fishing, Ceremonial Dances, Tribes. The reason why they stayed at the waterfall was because Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived there. He was the husband of the grandmother, or as we have called her up to now Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same value in kinship relationships). Tumehi was a bat and had a gray-black skin. Old Caetano referred to him sometimes as Semimo (Bak. *semimo*

* In the myth, only the Ronuro is mentioned, but Antonio added "that was the water of the Kuliseu River."

539 moreego) and sometimes as King of the Congo. The latter expression the old man had heard from the fugitive slaves or farm workers and applied it to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kinship group just as Kamuschiní, Mero and Ewaki and probably his real name is Semimo, since *tumehi* and *tumeag* are adjectives. Before the water reached the falls, this was his stone house; it is not astonishing that the bat should be considered the builder of clefts, as it prefers these clefts for its "habitat" and that these with one or the other outstanding rock above them be considered a house. Tumehi was also a mason.

Keri and Kame asked Tumehi to build a stone house for each of them. Tumehi, in order to obtain stones, blew on termites: it was thus that stones originated.

They also learned other things from Tumehi at the waterfall. The grandfather, rich in knowledge, showed them how to make and lay out bow-nets and how to catch fish, matrinchã, in them. He taught them, also, how to make a grill to roast the fish.

Keri and Kame had now come so far that they might be taken for adult men, they had obtained everything they needed: the sun and the moon, the hammock and sleep, the fire, the best river with a waterfall and fish, houses and fireplaces. Their life had started in heaven and is told up to the time when the real history of the tribe begins in the oldest Bakairí settlement near the Paranatinga Falls.

The Bakairí lived with Keri: his house was on the east side of the falls. They made a hill on the western side from where they could overlook the whole area. First, Kame built a ceremonial hut and a flute. He invited Keri and his people. Everyone danced to the tune of the flute, stamping with their feet and shaking their arms in response to the music, marching from their houses to the flute house and back again. Kame offered his guests pogu and beijús. In exchange they gave him arrows and cotton thread.

After this, Keri also called his people together for a dance; they danced and drank pogu in the afternoon in the big square, which still can be seen near the falls; then they made garments of burity, makanari and imiga, shook their rattles and played the flute. Now Keri, too, could invite Kame and his people. Many of them came and Keri was the owner of the imeo dance, which lasts two days and nights, refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But because of the people the brothers began to fight during the dance. Keri had made many Bakairí of ubá cane, whereas Kame had made none. Keri blamed him for his laziness; they quarreled and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He escaped to the southwest, made a hill at the Beijaflor River, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there he made the tribes: Apiaká, Paressí, and Guaná. It is very interesting to note that the Guaná are also mentioned here, being a widely spread tribe, from Paraguay, of whose existence, in this part of the country nobody had heard; a very, very long time ago, they also lived along the Beijaflor River.

Keri climbed a hill at the Paranatinga and from there he could see the smoke far away. He went to visit Kame

● 539 and there found many, many people. He scolded Kame, furiously, "Why did you make so many people?" Once again they began to quarrel, but Kame abandoned the Paressí with whom he was living, and returned with Keri to the falls. Within a short time a new misunderstanding arose because of the people. Keri had made more, and Kame escaped, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him and brought him back again to the Paranatinga Falls. It seems that these fights and wanderings are narrated to give both of them the possibility to create a number of different tribes, which live at great distances. Keri created the Bakairí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá and Mehinakú; and Kame the Apiaká, Paressí, Guaná, Maué, Suyá, Mundurukú, and all "Arinos tribes." I have already given consideration to the fact that all eastern tribes may be assigned to Keri and all western ones to Kame (. . .) and mentioned that there exists a difference between sun-east and moon-west and that Keri, although his name in Arawak means moon, really should be taken as chief of the eastern tribes (. . .) as the Bakairí hero with his moon name, which he received from Arawak women, naturally would be the owner of the sun-east, for the Bakairí. All tribes were made out of reeds, of which arrows are made, and the Portuguese of a dark kind of the color of a gun stock. In the first place, Keri, of course, gave the gun to the Bakairí, but they did not know how to handle it, one shot past another person's ear. They were so scared of shooting as "we saw among the people on the Kuliseu." Then Keri gave the gun to the Caraíbas.

Parting of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame leave the falls and Keri names Arimoto chief of the remaining Bakairí. Arimoto was also born at the Falls. This chief abused his position and killed many Bakairí. "Was he not himself a Bakairí?" I asked. "Probably but he was a vile scoundrel. Had he been good, his descendants would still be the chiefs of the Bakairí." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kuliseu. The Bakairí, in great need, followed them and accused Arimoto. Keri and Kame returned at once, killed the traitor who defended himself violently and tried to kill Keri.

This is the end of the deeds of Keri and Kame, according to the principal myth. They left the Bakairí with many matrinchãs and went up the hill, from where they once more answered the wildly crying Bakairí and then "went along the trail. No one knows where they went. The ancient ones did not know where they had gone. Today we know much less where they went."

Even though the myth has such a tragic ending, the people had their own opinion about it. Tumehi—not to forget the old bat—left together with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? The divine ancient Caetano, who could adjust himself excellently to new conditions, declared that Keri was the Emperor in Rio de Janeiro, D. Pedro II. The good Bakairí patiently answered all my innumerable questions, because I had told them that I had to report everything to the emperor. And this was of great importance to them. I inquired "and what if the emperor in Rio de Janeiro should die?" "If the

[P. 81-A]

539 emperor die, then all Bakairí will die too." was the answer, which fortunately, in the meantime, proved to be wrong.

Chief Felipe gave me a different account. "Keri went with a hundred men to the Ronuro and Kuliseu. He sailed down the river into the ocean. This the people at the Batoví also say."

Antonio believed in the text of the myths as he had

539 learned it from his mother. But in a different context he maintained that Keri lived in heaven, his house being there where the sun rose. "Is Keri the god about whom the Portuguese told you?" "No, that is somebody else, about whom we do not know anything. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakairí [Von den Steinen, 1894, ch. 13, pp. 373–381].